

THE HAZARDS OF "PURSE STRINGS" REGULATORY REFORM:

REGULATORY SPENDING AND STAFFING
UNDER THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, 1981-85by Kenneth W. Chilton
and Ronald J. Penoyer

HIGHLIGHTS

- Reagan Administration plans for outlays to operate the government's 55 major regulatory agencies will rise to \$7 billion for fiscal 1985.
- Regulatory agency staffing is on the rise but still far below peak levels reached in 1980 -- 77,500 full-time employees for fiscal year 1985 versus 90,500 in 1980.
- Spending in real-dollar terms has decreased 8 percent during the Reagan budget years (comparing 1985 budgets to 1981 figures), and staffing has decreased by more than 10 percent. However, "given the uncertainties of electoral politics, it is too soon to conclude that President Reagan has permanently reversed the regulatory momentum."
- On the other hand, the Administration's plans for budget cuts have come undone during the past two years. Planned spending reductions totaling 7 percent, in real terms, from 1982 to 1984 have turned into a 1 percent increase over that period. Thus, "early efforts to reign in the regulators through the budget process have run out of steam."
- The Environmental Protection Agency is on the "comeback trail." The 1984 Budget called for outlays in 1984 of \$1.3 billion (excluding construction grants) for the agency, but the new 1985 Budget will increase that figure to \$1.5 billion. EPA outlays will rise to \$1.7 billion for fiscal 1985.

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INTRODUCTION

Pro-regulatory forces -- those who say that more regulation is better than less -- have decried the budget "slashing" carried out by the Reagan Administration against the regulatory agencies. Regulatory reformers, on the other hand, have looked upon the President's regulatory budget restraint as at least one bright spot in the otherwise lackluster performance of the Administration in reforming federal controls. Both groups are likely to be disappointed with the figures for the regulatory agencies contained in the U.S. Budget for 1985.

The growth in regulatory activities as measured by budget and staffing data continues to be very modest, especially when compared to the phenomenal expansion that occurred during the 1970s. In current (nominal) dollars, federal expenditures to operate the government's 55 major regulatory agencies increased 4 percent in fiscal 1983 over the 1982 total. Such spending is expected to increase 6 percent in 1984 and another 4 percent in fiscal 1985, bringing the current-dollar spending total in that year to more than \$7 billion.

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In constant or "real" dollars (adjusted for inflation), regulatory expenditures will be in a virtual "no growth" mode. Budgets decreased only two tenths of one percent in 1983, are projected to increase roughly one and a half percent in 1984, and to decline by one half a percent in 1985 in real terms.

The trend in staffing is similar. In fiscal 1982, the federal government's regulatory bureaucracy totaled nearly 80,000. In 1983, that number declined 4 percent, to roughly 77,000 positions. In fiscal 1984 and 1985, the number will begin to increase slightly -- totaling less than 1 percent for the two-year period.

This report presents the full budget and staffing data for the major federal regulatory agencies. Summary data for budgets and staffing are presented according to regulatory categories in Tables 1 and 2, respectively, while detailed figures dating back to 1970 for individual agencies are presented in Tables 6 and 7 at the back of this report.

The remainder of the text is an effort to "read between the lines" of these factual tables. The source of the regulatory aficionado's lament is more evident when 1985 budgets are compared to President Jimmy Carter's "lame-duck" budgets for 1981. Spending in real-dollar terms has decreased 8 percent during the Reagan budget years, and staffing has decreased by more than 10 percent.

Promoters of regulatory reform, however, will surely be disappointed with the inability of the Administration to make its budget and staffing cuts stick. Only last year, President Reagan called for spending reductions in real terms totaling 7 percent over the two-year period from 1982 to 1984. The latest budget projections show that real spending will actually increase more

TABLE 1
Expenditures on Federal Regulatory Activities
(Fiscal Years, Dollars in Millions)

Area of Regulation	1970	1975	1980	Nominal \$ % change 1970 to 1980	1981	1982	1983	(Estimated) 1984	1985	Nominal \$ % change 1981 to 1985
Social Regulation										
Consumer Safety and Health	\$326	\$1279	\$2279	599%	\$2476	\$2363	\$2455	\$2584	\$2570	4%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	62	379	734	1084%	775	758	787	842	856	10%
Environment and Energy	85	967	1926	2166%	2122	2048	2142	2240	2510	18%
Total Social Regulation	473	2625	4939	944%	537	5169	5384	5666	5936	10%
Economic Regulation										
Finance and Banking	106	186	290	174%	352	371	398	445	468	33%
Industry-Specific Regulation	125	222	366	193%	403	369	336	357	310	- 23%
General Business	96	169	309	222%	325	341	380	418	465	43%
Total Economic Regulation	327	577	965	195%	1080	1081	1114	1220	1243	15%
Grand Total	\$800	\$3202	\$5904	638%	\$6453	\$6250	\$6498	\$6886	\$7179	11%
Year to Year Nominal % Change		300%	84%		9%	- 3%	4%	6%	4%	
Total in 1970 \$	\$800	\$2300	\$2988	274%	\$2985	\$2727	\$2721	\$2760	\$2745	- 8%
Year to Year Real % Change		187%	30%		- 0.1%	- 8.6%	- 0.2%	1.4%	- 0.5%	

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University.

TABLE 2
Staffing for Federal Regulatory Activities
(Fiscal Years, Permanent Full-Time Positions)

Area of Regulation	1970	1975	1980	% change 1970 to 1980	1981	1982	1983	(Estimated) 1984	1985	% change 1981 to 1985
Social Regulation										
Consumer Safety and Health	5786	28333	33599	481%	32481	29071	27562	27496	27258	- 16%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	3921	11893	14952	281%	14910	13633	13333	12966	12778	- 14%
Environment and Energy	n/a	11872	17838	—	16252	14882	14449	14909	15876	- 2%
Total Social Regulation	9707	52098	66389	584%	63643	57586	55344	55371	55912	- 12%
Economic Regulation										
Finance and Banking	6203	7413	9305	50%	8933	8850	8759	8568	8507	- 5%
Industry-Specific Regulation	5874	7215	7352	25%	6953	6394	5919	5949	5753	- 17%
General Business	5877	7280	7449	27%	7137	6915	6896	7117	7335	+ 3%
Total Economic Regulation	17954	21908	24106	34%	23023	22159	21574	21634	21595	- 6%
Grand Total	27661	74006	90495	227%	86666	79745	76918	77005	77507	- 11%
Year to Year % Change		168%	22%		- 4%	- 8%	- 4%	0.1%	0.7%	

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University.

than 1 percent for that period. Similarly, a four percent reduction-in-force was planned for the same period, but the new figures indicate a reduction of roughly three percent, to be followed by a one percent increase in fiscal 1985.

The four-year view of the Administration's "purse-strings" approach to regulatory reform is discussed in the following section, "What Hath Reagan Wrought?" The shorter-term view is discussed in the section, "What a Difference a Year Makes." Putting these two views in perspective, it is fair to say that the early efforts to reign in the regulators through the budget process have run out of steam. Events and the resiliency of an ensconced bureaucracy have stalled the President's plans, at least for the time being.

WHAT HATH REAGAN WROUGHT?

One thing is clear from analyzing the summary spending and staffing data (Tables 1 and 2) for the 55 regulatory agencies: the growth recorded in the 1970s is, thus far, not continuing in the 1980s. In fact, the budget and employment figures over the four-year period (1982-1985) that can truly be ascribed to the Reagan Administration reflect modest growth in nominal, or current-dollar, spending and modest personnel reductions as well.

Outlays

Spending for social regulation -- those programs designed to produce social benefits through government control of business activity -- is scheduled to rise ten percent during the Reagan budget years. The greatest increases in total dollars will be in the Environment and Energy category, with an eighteen percent increase from 1981 to 1985. However, an average annual growth rate of four and one half percent for Environment and Energy

regulation is a far cry from the "heyday" of environmentalism, the decade of the 1970s, when spending grew more than twenty-fold. Even when one examines a more recent period such as the last year of Carter budgets (fiscal 1981), spending for environment and energy regulation grew more than ten percent.

With all the talk of industry deregulation, one might expect to see deep cuts in the old-line, economic regulatory programs. Economic regulation, as the name suggests, is directed at controlling the economic behavior of firms. The on-going deregulation of transportation is reflected in "Industry-Specific" cuts totaling nearly one fourth of the 1981 budget for regulation. A little more suprising, however, is the one-third spending growth in Finance and Banking and the forty-three percent increase in General Business regulation spending during the Reagan budget years.

What do the budget changes look like with inflation stripped away? They look even more modest, as shown in Table 3. Overall, the Reagan Administration has cut regulatory spending in real terms by eight percent. Outlays for social and economic regulation have been reduced by nine percent and five percent, respectively. Expenditures for Finance and Banking regulation and for General Business are the only categories that grew in constant-dollar terms from 1981 to 1985.

Staffing

The "body count" at the regulatory agencies reached a peak in 1980 of over ninety thousand (see Table 2). The swansong Carter budget, after some further adjustments by Reagan, cut that figure by four percent in 1981. The current Administration made its deepest cuts in 1982 when it reduced full-time regulatory employment by eight percent. Over the period 1981 to 1985, President Reagan has reduced this category of employment eleven percent.

TABLE 3

Regulatory Spending in the Reagan Years
(Fiscal Years, Millions of Constant 1970 Dollars)

Area of Regulation	1981	1982	1983	(Estimated) 1984	1985	% change 1981 to 1985
<u>Social Regulation</u>						
Consumer Safety & Health	\$1146	\$1030	\$1027	\$1036	\$ 983	-14%
Job Safety & Other						
Working Conditions	358	331	330	337	327	-9%
Environment & Energy	982	894	897	898	960	-2%
Total Social Regulation	\$2486	\$2255	\$2254	\$2271	\$2270	-9%
<u>Economic Regulation</u>						
Finance & Banking	\$ 163	\$ 162	\$ 167	\$ 178	\$179	+10%
Industry-Specific	186	161	141	143	118	-37%
General Business	150	149	159	168	178	+19%
Total Economic Regulation	\$ 499	\$ 472	\$ 467	\$ 489	\$475	-5%
GRAND TOTAL	\$2985	\$2727	\$2721	\$2760	\$2745	-8%

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University

The largest reductions-in-force, both absolutely and in percentage terms, have come in the social regulatory area. Consumer Safety and Health agencies have cut over 5,000 employees, while employment at agencies responsible for Job Safety and Other Working Conditions declined by more than 2,000. Agencies concerned with Environment and Energy will have a small decrease in staffing of approximately four-hundred persons -- barely a two percent decline -- during the Reagan years. Moreover, changes in staffing at the economic regulatory agencies are quite modest. Even the seventeen percent decrease in employment at the Industry-Specific agencies amount to only twelve-hundred persons.

Summary

An appraisal of the federal regulatory establishment after four years of a reform-minded President reveals more continuity than change. To be sure, the rapid growth at the regulatory agencies that occurred in the 1970s is no longer evident today. This pattern is familiar in most "growth industries." Perhaps regulation now has become a "mature industry," one that may not be expanding rapidly but also one that is not likely to wither away. Given the uncertainties of electoral politics, it is too soon to conclude that President Reagan has permanently reversed the regulatory momentum.

The overall figures indicate that the Administration has effected a modest change in direction, one that nettles the pro-regulatory forces but does little to bring enthusiastic cheers from the more reform-minded. A more subtle analysis of recent developments follows. The findings are likely to be even more unsettling for the reformers.

WHAT A DIFFERENCE A YEAR MAKES

Regulatory reform was one of the "four pillars" of Reagonomics and, as such, had its greatest impact early on in the Administration. The largest cuts in spending and staffing both came in fiscal year 1982 -- the first budget year that completely reflected the President's resolve. Regulatory agency spending was cut more than eight and one-half percent in real terms and staffing by eight percent in that year alone. But further pruning seems to have been replaced with an effort merely to slow the growth of the federal regulatory bureaucracy. Having learned the hard way that "the President proposes but the Congress disposes," Ronald Reagan appears to be suggesting less controversial plans for the regulators.

Outlays

In particular, it is worth noting how much the Administration plans have changed in the more recent budget. Table 4 displays the percentage change in real terms (constant 1970 dollars) planned for regulatory activities in the 1984 Budget compared to actual 1983 spending and planned outlays for 1984 taken from the 1985 Budget. Just one year ago, the President suggested further cuts in outlays that would have reduced real spending by seven percent over the two-year period from 1982 to 1984. The new Budget calls for increased outlays of just over one percent in constant dollars -- a shift of more than eight percent.

The biggest changes in spending plans are coming in the area of social regulation. Consumer Safety and Health expenditures were to be cut six and a half percent. They will, instead, grow by a little more than one half a percent. But the noteworthy swing is occurring in outlays for Environment and Energy. Cuts in real spending totaling more than eleven percent have been replaced by an increase of slightly less than one half a percent. Virtually the entire increase will be devoted to the budget for the Environmental Protection Agency. The Department of Energy continues to phase down its regulatory apparatus.

The continued concern for the environment -- coupled with concern over dioxin and other hazardous wastes as well as the mandate given the new EPA Administrator -- have put the agency on the "comeback trail." Last year's budget called for a \$54 million decrease in EPA outlays in 1983 and a miniscule \$5 million increase in the agency's 1984 budget, bringing EPA outlays to \$1.3 billion (excluding construction grants). EPA spending was not cut in 1983 but increased slightly (\$5 million). Most significantly, however, the

TABLE 4

Comparison of Planned Changes in Regulatory Spending,
1984 Versus the 1985 Budget
(Fiscal years, Percent Change in Constant (1970) Dollars)

Area of Regulation	% Change Planned in the 1984 Budget Estimated		Overall Change 1982-1984	% Change Planned in the 1985 Budget Actual Estimated		Overall Change 1982-1984	% Change Planned for 1985
	1983	1984		1983	1984		
<u>Social Regulation</u>							
Consumer Safety & Health..	- .9%	- 5.7%	-6.5%	- .2%	+ .8%	+ .6%	- 4.9%
Job Safety & Other							
Working Conditions.....	+ .6	- 2.4	- 1.8	- .3	+2.1	+1.8	- 3.0
Environment & Energy... ..	<u>-6.1</u>	<u>- 5.5</u>	<u>-11.3</u>	<u>+ .3</u>	<u>+ .1</u>	<u>+ .4</u>	<u>+ 6.9</u>
Total Social Regulation...	-2.7%	- 5.1%	- 7.7%	0%	+ .7%	+ .7%	0%
<u>Economic Regulation</u>							
Finance & Banking.....	+ 4.9%	- 1.8%	+ 3.1%	+3.1%	+6.6%	+9.9%	+ .6%
Industry-Specific.....	-11.8	- 5.6	-16.8	-12.4	+1.4	-11.2	-17.5
General Business.....	<u>+ 6.7</u>	<u>- 3.1</u>	<u>+ 3.3</u>	<u>+ 6.7</u>	<u>+5.7</u>	<u>+12.8</u>	<u>+ 6.0</u>
Total Economic Regulation	<u>- .2%</u>	<u>- 3.4%</u>	<u>- 3.6%</u>	<u>- 1.1%</u>	<u>+4.7%</u>	<u>+ 3.6%</u>	<u>- 2.9%</u>
Grand Total.....	<u>- 2.3%</u>	<u>- 4.8%</u>	<u>- 7.0%</u>	<u>- .2%</u>	<u>+1.4%</u>	<u>+ 1.2%</u>	<u>- .5%</u>

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University

new EPA budget calls for 1984 outlays of approximately \$1.5 billion, an increase of almost \$200 million over last year's planned figure. The expenditures for 1985 are scheduled to increase another \$229 million to \$1.7 billion (see Table 6 at the back of this report).

Staffing

In the area of staffing, a time lag is involved in the turnaround. In general, overall reductions-in-force were somewhat greater in fiscal year 1983 than originally planned (a 3.5 percent cut overall versus a planned 2.9 percent cut). However, further cuts planned for 1984 have been eliminated. The 1985 budget calls for some additional hiring, especially in the Environment and Energy area (see Table 5).

The renewed expansion at the EPA shows up once again in these personnel figures. The EPA was to reduce its staff by approximately 240 persons in 1983 and by another 450 in 1984. But that was last year's plan. Only 140 regulatory positions were eliminated at the EPA in 1983 and nearly 400 will be added in 1984. But the big growth in staffing is planned for 1985, when 1,050 new hires are planned -- an eleven percent increase in one year.

Summary

Comparing last year's budget to this year's leads to a slightly different conclusion than the analysis of the overall impact of the Reagan budget years. It appears that the early efforts of President Reagan to reform regulation by throttling down the regulatory agencies have given way to a more pragmatic approach. The federal regulatory establishment may not be experiencing a "boom," but the "recession" seems to have been briefer and milder than expected.

TABLE 5

Comparison of Planned Staffing Changes at the Regulatory Agencies,
1984 Versus the 1985 Budget
(Fiscal years, Percent Change in Permanent Full-Time Positions)

Area of Regulation	% Change Planned in the 1984 Budget Estimated		Overall Change	% Change Planned in the 1985 Budget Actual Estimated		Overall Change	% Change Planned for
	1983	1984	1982-1984	1983	1984	1982-1984	1985
<u>Social Regulation</u>							
Consumer Safety & Health..	-3.9%	- .2%	-4.2%	-5.2%	- .2%	-5.4%	- .9%
Job Safety & Other Working Conditions.....	-3.1	- .1	-3.2	-2.2	-2.8	-4.9	-1.4
Environment & Energy.....	<u>-3.5</u>	<u>-4.0</u>	<u>-7.4</u>	<u>-2.9</u>	<u>+3.2</u>	<u>+ .2</u>	<u>+6.5</u>
Total Social Regulation...	-3.6%	-1.2%	-4.8%	-3.9%	0%	-3.8%	+1.0%
<u>Economic Regulation</u>							
Finance & Banking.....	- .2%	- .4%	- .6%	-1.0%	-2.2%	-3.2%	- .7%
Industry-Specific.....	-2.8	-4.0	-6.7	-7.4	+ .5	-6.3	-3.3
General Business.....	<u>- .5</u>	<u>-1.3</u>	<u>-1.8</u>	<u>- .3</u>	<u>+3.2</u>	<u>+2.9</u>	<u>+3.1</u>
Total Economic Regulation	<u>-1.1%</u>	<u>-1.7%</u>	<u>-2.7%</u>	<u>-2.6%</u>	<u>+ .3%</u>	<u>-2.4%</u>	<u>- .1%</u>
Grand Total.....	<u>-2.9%</u>	<u>-1.3%</u>	<u>-4.2%</u>	<u>-3.5%</u>	<u>+ .1%</u>	<u>-3.4%</u>	<u>+ .7%</u>

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University

CONCLUSION

Sifting through the tea leaves of federal regulatory budgets is an uncertain science. There are plenty of data, but interpretation is more art than science. Nonetheless, spending and staffing figures for the federal agencies have proven in the past to be valuable indicators of the overall level of federal regulation. The regulatory "go-go years" of the 1970s are clearly shown in the tremendous growth in outlays and personnel during that period. Also, the "purse strings" approach to regulatory reform is evident in these data for 1982 and, to a lesser extent, 1981.

Put in the larger context of Reagan regulatory reform, what then do these figures tell us? First of all, the four full budget years that can truly be called Reagan budget years show a definite decrease in the pace of regulatory activity at the federal agencies. It takes money and people to promulgate regulation. It is true, however, that the major costs -- the expenses for compliance with regulation -- are borne by consumers in the form of a hidden tax rather than by explicit levies on taxpayers that show up in the budget figures. Fewer dollars and fewer people imply fewer new regulations and greater reliance on enforcement approaches other than direct policing. However, smaller regulatory budgets and work forces also may mean more delays in issuing permits and less research and analysis conducted before issuing new regulations.

Nevertheless, if the actual 1985 budgets passed by Congress for the 55 regulatory agencies match President Reagan's plans, the real spending power of these agencies will have been cut eight percent and their staffs eleven percent. This is no trivial change.

On the other hand, the gradually rising figures for budgets and staff in 1984 and 1985 indicate how hard it is to make the purse-strings approach to regulatory reform stick. With few, if any, legislative changes to reduce the legal mandates placed on these agencies, it is only a matter of time before law suits to force compliance with the timetables contained in regulatory statutes catch up with a "go slow," administrative approach to reform. In the case of the Environmental Protection Agency, the backlash effects are evident. Revised EPA outlays of \$1.46 billion in 1984 -- rising to \$1.69 billion in 1985 -- are a major departure from the \$1.28 billion that the Administration planned for 1984 in last year's budget. Congress and the President now believe that environmental regulation requires more, not fewer resources.

The overall conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that there are no short cuts in regulatory reform. Detailed analyses still need to be made to identify regulations producing more costs than benefits and to develop regulatory approaches that are more cost-effective. Whether as a taxpayer paying for the administrative costs of regulation or as a consumer paying for the compliance costs passed through with every purchase, citizens deserve to know that they are getting all "the bang" they can get for their "bucks." It is time that the Administration and Congress address the real regulatory issues facing the nation and rewrite the basic regulatory statutes -- such as the Clean Air and Clean Water Acts and the Occupational Safety and Health Act -- to reduce their costs and to increase reliance on market incentives.

TABLE 6
Expenditures by Federal Regulatory Agencies
(Fiscal Years, Millions of Dollars)

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	(Estimated) 1984	1985
SOCIAL REGULATION								
Consumer Safety and health								
Consumer Product								
Safety Commission	—	\$ 34	\$ 44	\$ 41	\$ 34	\$ 33	\$ 36	\$ 35
<i>Department of Agriculture:</i>								
Agricultural Marketing Service	131	36	40	44	52	48	49	46
Animal and Plant								
Health Inspection Service	—	343	263	306	316	296	303	233
Federal Grain Inspection Service ..	—	—	26	29	11	7	7	7
Food Safety and								
Inspection Service (a)	—	—	360	377	320	325	339	357
Packers and								
Stockyards Administration	—	—	—	—	8	8	9	9
Subtotal	\$131	\$379	\$689	\$756	\$707	\$684	\$707	\$652
<i>Department of Health and Human Services:</i>								
Food and Drug Administration	68	201	326	337	340	365	396	403
<i>Department of Housing and Urban Development:</i>								
Consumer Protection Programs (b)	—	—	13	5	4	5	7	8
<i>Department of Justice:</i>								
Antitrust Division	9	18	49	49	43	43	43	45
Drug Enforcement Administration ..	n/a	12	13	13	15	16	17	17
Subtotal	\$ 9	\$ 30	\$ 62	\$ 62	\$ 58	\$59	\$60	\$62
<i>Department of Transportation:</i>								
Coast Guard	\$ 57	\$ 162	\$ 444	\$ 571	\$ 580	\$661	\$699	\$728
Federal Aviation Administration ..	n/a	178	252	269	263	255	249	254
Federal Highway Administration ..	n/a	36	36	31	22	19	27	23
Federal Railroad Administration ..	4	9	28	29	25	28	33	28
National Highway Traffic Safety								
Administration	32	75	105	125	82	82	89	97
Subtotal	\$ 93	\$ 460	\$ 865	\$1025	\$ 972	\$1045	\$1097	\$1130
<i>Department of the Treasury:</i>								
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and								
Firearms (c)	n/a	\$ 95	\$ 146	\$ 147	\$ 143	\$149	\$162	\$163
Customs Service	20	71	116	85	88	96	98	97
Subtotal	\$ 20	\$ 166	\$ 262	\$ 232	\$ 231	\$245	\$260	\$260
National Transportation Safety								
Board	5	9	18	18	17	19	21	20
Total—Consumer Safety and Health	\$ 326	\$1279	\$2279	\$2476	\$2363	\$2455	\$2584	\$2570
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions								
<i>Department of Labor:</i>								
Employment Standards								
Administration	n/a	\$ 72	\$ 114	\$ 116	\$ 106	\$113	\$122	\$123
Labor-Management Services								
Administration	12	27	52	56	55	51	61	61

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	(Estimated) 1984	1985
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions (cont.)								
Mine Safety and Health Administration	n/a	68	142	152	139	151	153	151
Occupational Safety and Health Administration	—	90	178	195	194	200	215	217
Subtotal	\$ 12	\$ 257	\$ 486	\$ 519	\$ 494	\$ 515	\$ 551	\$ 552
Equal Employment Opportunity								
Commission	12	56	131	134	138	143	153	160
National Labor Relations Board	38	61	109	114	119	123	132	138
Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission	—	5	8	8	7	6	6	6
Total—Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	\$ 62	\$ 379	\$ 734	\$ 775	\$ 758	\$ 787	\$ 842	\$ 856
Environment and Energy								
Council on Environmental Quality ...	n/a	3	6	3	2	1	2	1
<i>Department of Defense:</i>								
Army Corps of Engineers	2	16	41	42	45	47	49	49
<i>Energy Activities [Department of Energy]:</i>								
Economic Regulatory Administration	—	6	132	62	65	44	33	30
Petroleum Regulation	—	—	—	69	17	14	15	—
Subtotal	\$ —	\$ 6	\$ 132	\$ 131	\$ 82	\$ 58	\$ 48	\$ 30
<i>Department of Interior:</i>								
Fish and Wildlife Service	n/a	6	20	22	19	21	22	25
Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement ..	—	—	85	131	119	163	208	251
Subtotal	n/a	\$ 6	\$ 105	\$ 153	\$ 138	\$ 184	\$ 230	\$ 276
Environmental Protection Agency ...	71	850	1259	1360	1324	1329	1459	1687
Nuclear Regulatory Commission	12	86	378	417	442	515	450	464
Office of the Federal Inspector for the Alaska Natural Gas Transportation System	—	—	5	16	15	8	3	3
Total—Environment and Energy	\$ 85	\$ 967	\$ 1926	\$ 2122	\$ 2048	\$ 2142	\$ 2240	\$ 2510
TOTAL SOCIAL REGULATION	473	2625	4939	5373	5169	5384	5666	5936
ECONOMIC REGULATION								
Finance and Banking								
<i>Department of the Treasury:</i>								
Comptroller of the Currency	\$ 32	\$ 65	\$ 113	\$ 121	\$ 129	\$ 144	\$ 163	\$ 176
Farm Credit Administration	4	6	12	13	15	17	21	22
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	39	66	116	124	131	138	155	163
Federal Home Loan Bank Board	21	33	20	60	63	66	69	69
Federal Reserve System Board of Governors	3	6	12	13	13	14	16	16
National Credit Union Administration	7	10	17	21	20	19	21	22
Total—Finance and Banking	\$ 106	\$ 186	\$ 290	\$ 352	\$ 371	\$ 398	\$ 445	\$ 468

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	(Estimated) 1984	1985
Industry-Specific Regulation								
Civil Aeronautics Board	\$ 48	\$ 81	\$ 117	\$ 147	\$ 110	\$ 78	\$ 78	\$ 24
Commodity Futures Trading Commission	—	1	16	18	21	23	26	26
Federal Communications Commission	24	48	76	81	80	82	90	93
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission	18	34	67	70	80	79	92	101
Federal Maritime Commission	4	7	11	12	11	12	11	12
Interstate Commerce Commission ..	27	46	79	75	67	62	60	54
Renegotiation Board (c)	4	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total—Industry-Specific Regulation ..	\$ 125	\$ 222	\$ 366	\$ 403	\$ 369	\$ 336	\$ 357	\$ 310
General Business								
Cost Accounting Standards Board (d)	n/a	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Council on Wage and Price Stability (e)	—	—	9	6	•	•	—	—
<i>Department of Commerce:</i>								
International Trade Administration	—	4	26	30	35	40	41	51
Patent and Trademark Office	49	71	103	112	129	152	180	200
Subtotal	\$ 49	\$ 75	\$ 129	\$ 142	\$ 164	\$ 192	\$ 221	\$ 251
Federal Election Commission	—	•	10	9	9	9	11	10
Federal Trade Commission	20	39	68	70	68	65	66	67
International Trade Commission	4	8	14	16	17	19	22	28
<i>Library of Congress:</i>								
Copyright Office	1	2	4	4	4	5	5	5
Securities and Exchange Commission	22	44	74	78	79	90	93	104
Total—General Business	\$ 96	\$ 169	\$ 309	\$ 325	\$ 341	\$ 380	\$ 418	\$ 465
TOTAL—ECONOMIC REGULATION ..	327	577	965	1080	1081	1114	1220	1243
GRAND TOTAL	\$ 800	\$ 3202	\$ 5904	\$ 6453	\$ 6250	\$ 6498	\$ 6886	\$ 7179

* = less than \$500,000

— = agency was not operational

n/a = not available

Notes:

(a) Formerly Food Safety and Quality Service. The budget for this agency has been revised to exclude "Funds for Strengthening Markets, Income and Supply (Sec. 32)."

(b) Budgets for 1980-81 are for the Office of Neighborhoods, Voluntary Associations, and Consumer Protection, since abolished.

(c) Renegotiation Board abolished in 1979.

(d) CASB abolished in 1980.

(e) COWPS abolished in 1981.

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University.

TABLE 7
Staffing of Federal Regulatory Agencies
(Fiscal Years, Permanent Full-Time Positions)

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	(Estimated) 1984	1985
SOCIAL REGULATION								
Consumer Safety and Health								
Consumer Product Safety Commission	—	890	871	812	631	577	558	557
Department of Agriculture:								
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service	—	14613	4398	4610	4592	4418	4360	4275
Federal Grain Inspection Service ..	—	—	821	659	76	75	145	145
Food Safety and Inspection Service (a)	—	—	13213	12411	9951	9861	9766	9900
Packers and Stockyards Administration	—	—	—	—	207	200	200	190
Subtotal	—	14613	18432	17680	14826	14554	14471	14510
Department of Health and Human Services:								
Food and Drug Administration	4152	6206	7419	7521	7377	7188	7187	7090
Department of Justice:								
Antitrust Division	595	712	939	939	829	742	704	669
Department of Transportation:								
Federal Highway Administration ..	n/a	229	292	271	271	271	271	271
Federal Railroad Administration ..	246	369	484	431	421	445	445	445
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration	518	881	874	797	686	500	495	494
Subtotal	764	1479	1650	1499	1378	1216	1211	1210
Department of the Treasury:								
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms	—	4123	3900	3671	3671	2950	3022	2879
National Transportation and Safety Board	275	310	388	359	359	335	343	343
Total—Consumer Safety and Health ..	5786	28333	33599	32481	29071	27562	27496	27278
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions								
Department of Labor:								
Labor-Management Services Administration	860	1353	1325	1308	1040	1118	1117	1110
Mine Safety and Health Administration (b)	—	2940	3857	3808	3763	3408	3271	3115
Occupational Safety and Health Administration	—	2471	3015	3009	2354	2354	2355	2332
Subtotal	860	6764	8197	8125	7157	6880	6743	6557
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	780	2384	3433	3412	3137	3127	3127	3127
National Labor Relations Board	2281	2573	3157	3213	3213	3213	3000	3000
Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission	—	172	165	160	126	113	96	94
Total—Job Safety and Other Working Conditions ..	3921	11893	14952	14910	13633	13333	12966	12778

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	(Estimated) 1984	1985
Environment and Energy								
Council on Environmental Quality . . .	n/a	50	32	16	15	11	11	11
<i>Department of Defense:</i>								
Army Corps of Engineers	n/a	613	800	800	750	725	725	725
<i>Energy Activities (Department of Energy):</i>								
Economic Regulatory Administration	—	n/a	2161	1383	597	537	417	321
<i>Department of Interior:</i>								
Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement . .	—	—	1025	1036	735	724	757	763
Environmental Protection Agency . . .	n/a	9203	10678	9799	9364	9223	9622	10675
Nuclear Regulatory Commission . . .	n/a	2006	3041	3029	3315	3203	3349	3353
Office of the Federal Inspector for the Alaska Natural Gas Transportation System	—	—	101	189	106	26	28	28
Total — Environment and Energy . . .	n/a	11872	17838	16252	14882	14449	14909	15876
TOTAL — SOCIAL REGULATION	9707	52098	66389	63643	57586	55344	55371	55912

ECONOMIC REGULATION

Finance and Banking

<i>Department of the Treasury:</i>								
Comptroller of the Currency	1920	2546	3331	3071	3071	2917	2810	2785
Farm Credit Administration	225	229	245	267	284	287	287	287
<i>Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation:</i>								
Federal Home Loan Bank Board	933	904	1388	1440	1447	1402	1385	1349
National Credit Union Administration .	456	570	650	601	613	599	532	532
Total — Finance and Banking	6203	7413	9305	8933	8850	8759	8568	8507

Industry-Specific Regulation

Civil Aeronautics Board	685	718	743	650	498	434	395	344
Commodity Futures Trading Commission	—	496	550	550	550	550	557	567
Federal Communications Commission	1637	2020	2153	2004	1862	1896	1975	1953
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission	1162	1320	1605	1607	1516	1548	1707	1707
Federal Maritime Commission	250	319	361	306	306	290	252	251
Interstate Commerce Commission . . .	1907	2142	1940	1836	1662	1201	1063	931
Renegotiation Board (c)	233	200	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total — Industry-Specific Regulation .	5874	7215	7352	6953	6394	5919	5949	5753

General Business

Cost Accounting Standards Board (d) .	n/a	42	28	—	—	—	—	—
Council on Wage and Price Stability (e)	—	41	233	115	—	—	—	—
<i>Department of Commerce:</i>								
Patent and Trademark Office	2795	3014	2734	2834	3036	3140	3286	3436

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	(Estimated) 1984	1985
General Business (cont.)								
Federal Election Commission	—	62	251	235	219	214	231	231
Federal Trade Commission	1385	1569	1665	1587	1322	1122	1141	1144
International Trade Commission (I) ..	265	408	438	438	413	399	438	482
Securities and Exchange Commission	1432	2144	2100	1928	1925	2021	2021	2042
Total — General Business	5877	7280	7449	7137	6915	6896	7117	7335
TOTAL ECONOMIC REGULATION ...	17954	21908	24106	23023	22159	21574	21634	21595
GRAND TOTAL	27661	74006	90495	86666	79745	76918	77005	77507

* = less than \$500,000

— = agency was not operational

n/a = not available

Notes:

(a) 1980 figure is for the Food Safety and Quality Service.

(b) 1975 figure is for the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration.

(c) Abolished in 1979.

(d) Abolished in 1980.

(e) Abolished in 1981.

(f) 1970 figure is for the Tariff Commission.

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University.